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Abel² in his autobiography (a manuscript in the archives of Cotta) that he himself is the author of the "Lied eines Eifersüchtigen." Questionable, however, is the absence of the signature P., and more than questionable its assignment to Petersen. The four poems bearing this signature should probably have been included in the collection.

The two principles that have guided the editor in his work are stated as follows in the preface: "die orthographie ist von den setzerwillkürlichkeiten gereinigt worden . . . die . . . interpunktion aber habe ich energisch modernisiert." Now a normalization of orthography for a critical edition of an author can surely be based only on that author's usage at the time in question. Sufficient evidence as to what Schiller's usage was in the year 1781 may be gathered from the edition of the *Briefe* by Jonas. Accepting this principle, Stammeler's changing of *ck* into *k* is justifiable—the ten or twelve instances of *ck* in the *Anthologie* may actually be put down to the score of the compositor. Such is not the case with the change of *dt* to *d* in *Todt* (7, 32; 24, 1; 28, 44), witness the letters, Jonas I, 14 and I, 22; nor with the alteration, in the inflected forms of *süsz*, of *sz* into *s* (35, 32; 35, 42; 37, 68). In regard to the latter Stammeler is, in fact, remarkably inconsistent: 32, 3 he changes *süser* into *süszer*—the opposite of his usual procedure, and perhaps a misprint—while 11, 7 and 14, 98 he retains an original *sz*, 11, 7 being, to be sure, an instance in rime. For *sz* see Schiller's letter to Petersen, Jonas I, 16. It is also not wise to attempt to introduce by means of the apostrophe a differentiation between preterit and present forms: in some cases, as e. g. in 18, 29, *Vater Föbus hört mit Lachen*, there is no certainty that a preterit and not a present is intended.

A normalization of punctuation such as Stammeler has carried through is still more dubious in a critical edition of an eighteenth century poet, and there is no warrant for it whatsoever in Schiller's letters. If such a leveling be undertaken, it must proceed on the

basis not of what would be expected in a modern production but of what is normal for Schiller at the given time. And that this punctuation, call it "unglaublich verworren"³ if you will, is not due to the idiosyncrasies of a type-setter but is characteristic of the man at the time, may furthermore be shown by pointing out how regular is in comparison the punctuation of some of the other contributions to the *Anthologie*. Besides, such leveling may at times destroy indications as to manner of reading. Indications of this nature I should find in the use of commas 25, 30; 33, 88; 46, 4; 46, 21; all of them passages where these signs have, in accordance with modern usage, been removed by Stammeler. So the interrogation in 29, 16 may be entirely correct, and even if it is not, its occurrence in the original text should be noted in the variants. The same remark applies, with even greater force, to 42, 7.

For *Die Seeligen Augenblicke* (No. 9) the variants from Stäudlin's *Musen Almanach* are incomplete and in two instances (ll. 8 and 11) inaccurate, this latter all the stranger since Goedeke gives in both instances the correct readings.

Misprints have been noted as follows: 4, 1 (*Himmels!*); 4, 23 (*Das = Des*); 9, 36 (*archerontschen = acherontschen*); 14, 35 (*Flut*); 28, 14 and 16 ('s as in 29, 12); 28, 27 (*Mich* not spaced); 34, 8 (*Hohl*); 37, 53 (*win = winkt*); 37, 65 (*Lieben = Leben*); 40, 16 (*Dein = Deine*); 47, 5 and 6 (*S' regnet* and *S' g' wittert*).

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Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: a Memoir.
By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. Oxford,
At the Clarendon Press, 1913. 8vo., xx +
228 pp.

Ever since the late Cristóbal Pérez Pastor revolutionized the study of Cervantes by the publication of one hundred and sixty-one new

² See J. Hartmann, *Schillers Jugendfreunde*, p. 110.

³ Leitzmann, *Euphorion*, XV, 217.

documents relating to that writer, his family, and his friends,¹ a new biography of the author of *Don Quijote* has been a need recognized among scholars. While Professor Wallace's important discoveries relating to Shakespeare have attracted so much popular attention, the general reading public in England and America has been ignorant of the far richer mass of material illuminating the life of Shakespeare's great contemporary which the archives of Spain have yielded up. For this indifference the English reader is not to blame. The results of recent investigations have never before been brought to his attention in their entirety, although Fitzmaurice-Kelly has himself used some of them in his more recent writings, notably in the two studies devoted to Cervantes in his *Chapters on Spanish Literature* and his articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Pérez Pastor's discoveries are not sensational. He discovered, for instance, nothing so interesting as the famous find of Ceán Bermúdez, those documents in which Cervantes, petitioning for an office in the Indies, sets forth his military services and gives a full account of his sufferings in Algiers, documents which the youthful Ticknor saw and studied before their publication by Navarrete. Neither did he find anything so startling as the evidence in the Ezpeleta case which Máinez first published. And happily, too, he found against Cervantes nothing so damning as Lope de Vega's famous libel suit scandal. The value of Pérez Pastor's Cervantine "documents" consists in the many petty details of information which they bring to periods in Cervantes' life which had formerly been dark. No single "document" is in itself of supreme importance; but the sum total of information afforded by the 161 is very great. We know far more about Cervantes' family, his complicated financial negotiations, the events of his last and most fruitful years.

Unfortunately Pérez Pastor, so diligent in unearthing new facts, was less happy in interpreting them. It is his merit that he sought

the needle in the haystack, and often found it, without having had beforehand the comforting assurance that the needle actually existed. But having collected his material at the expense of prodigious effort, he showed, in interpreting it, that he was lacking both in the art of presenting his discoveries in attractive form, and, what is more serious, in a judicious, conservative, scientific method. The publication of Cotarelo y Mori's *Efemérides Cervantinas*² marked a considerable advance in the interpretation of the new material, but Cotarelo, too, occasionally lets his enthusiasms get the better of his judgment, and with characteristic Spanish gallantry sometimes refuses to look an unpleasant fact in the face, charitably advancing an improbable explanation instead of the disagreeable, but obvious, one.

In the present volume Fitzmaurice-Kelly has attempted a new interpretation of the known facts relating to the life of Cervantes, passing in review the work of all his predecessors from Diego de Haedo down to the present day. His aim is "to place on record all that is positively known of Cervantes' life, to sift the guesses from the facts, and to establish the facts by such evidence as might satisfy a legal tribunal." He prints no new documents, such happy finds are not to be expected of the foreign investigator, and few of the actual facts in the book will be new to Hispanists; but even the latter will find much that is original in the way of interpretation. Few workers in the field have had the patience to digest thoroughly these numerous documents, the exact legal meaning of which the layman often finds it difficult to determine. The way in which Fitzmaurice-Kelly marshals his material is wholly admirable. Only proved facts are admitted to the text. Even the most conservative inferences are relegated to the footnotes. Rash speculation is avoided altogether. He eschews all rhetoric, banishes all literary criticism; those in search of this must consult his other books. For the moment his

¹ Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos*, Madrid, Vol. I, 1897, Vol. II, 1902.

² Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinas ó sea resumen cronológico de la vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Madrid, 1905.

sole aim has been to reduce the life of Cervantes to its lowest terms, to dissipate baseless legends, to place Cervantine biography upon a sound footing which will render impossible for the future any such succession of dilettante lives of Cervantes as those which have appeared in the past. At the risk of being thought a Gradgrind, he has steadfastly stuck to facts, and for this we thank him.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly has avoided that common stumbling-block of many writers on Cervantes, the effort to extract biographical facts from Cervantes' own writings. That these contain much that may be autobiographical is well known; but who, in such cases, can undertake to separate truth from fiction? To illustrate: In *La ilustre fregona* the heroine, Costanza, is courted by a Salamancan student, Tomás de Avendaño, son of a certain Juan de Avendaño. Now, Cervantes had a niece named Costanza who we know received, on the 14th of January, 1614, a remittance of one thousand *reales* from a certain Juan de Avendaño, then in Trujillo, Peru. Now, how easy it is to put two and two together and construct a more or less plausible little romance on the basis of this coincidence of names. But Fitzmaurice-Kelly does not even mention the fact that these names occur in *La ilustre fregona*. He doubtless thinks, and rightly, that such speculations, however interesting and plausible, find no place in scientific biography.³ One more example of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's praiseworthy conservatism. A document first printed by Gerónimo Morán tells how in September, 1569, a certain Myguel de Zerbantes wounded Antonio de Sigura in a duel and was sentenced to have his right hand chopped

off, after which he was to be exiled for ten years. Confirmation of this seems to be afforded by a passage in *El gallardo Español* in which Don Fernando de Saavedra flees to Italy as the consequence of a duel. This interesting story, accepted by many historians as the reason for Cervantes' departure for Italy, Fitzmaurice-Kelly merely mentions in a footnote. There are no chronological difficulties to prevent the identification of Myguel de Zerbantes with our protagonist. But would the evidence "satisfy a legal tribunal"? Fitzmaurice-Kelly evidently thinks that it would not.

There can be no more striking illustration of what the last twenty years have brought us in the way of definite information respecting Cervantes than that afforded by a comparison of the present book with Fitzmaurice-Kelly's earlier *Life of Cervantes*,⁴ a work still held in high esteem by everybody except its author, but which unfortunately appeared on the eve of important discoveries which rendered obsolete many of its statements. I take only a few examples out of many. Nearly a whole chapter of the *Life of Cervantes* is devoted to an interesting account of the military campaign in the Azores in which Cervantes was thought to have participated. Instead of this, the present book, following Pérez Pastor, shows that it is next to impossible that Cervantes could have participated in the expedition. A sentence of fact has replaced a chapter of conjecture. But the opposite also occurs. In many places where lack of data forced him to be laconic, the author is now very full. Speaking of Cervantes' sister, Andrea, Fitzmaurice-Kelly had said: "It is no small loss that we are acquainted solely with the tantalising outlines of her sweet, self-effacing, feminine character, with their soft, shadowy suggestiveness of charm." The outlines are now filled in, and in a way wholly unexpected. There are certain of the documents which we wish had never seen the light. The illusions are more satisfactory than the reality. In another place, speaking of Cervantes' daughter,

³ Cf. Blanca de los Ríos, *Del siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 167 ff. Doña Blanca discovered that a Juan de Avendaño matriculated at Salamanca in 1584 and that three years previously there had matriculated at the same university a Diego de Carriazo. This last is the name of another character in *La ilustre fregona*. All this cannot be mere coincidence. But what positive inferences can we draw regarding the life of Cervantes and his family? Fitzmaurice-Kelly plainly does not accept as proved Doña Blanca's theory that Cervantes studied at Salamanca.

⁴ Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, London, 1892.

Isabel de Saavedra, and her mother, Fitzmaurice-Kelly said: "Nothing whatever is known of her, nothing at this day is likely to be discovered about her; and the whole question might be passed over were it not for the *curiosos impertinentes*, the literary ghouls who manifest their interest in high literature by leaving *Don Quijote* unread, and striving to discover the name of Cervantes' mistress." How little the author of these lines imagined that a priest would unearth details which "literary ghouls" had sought in vain.

If the reviewer has hinted at certain unpleasant things that have been discovered with reference to the Cervantes family, it is not from a desire to emulate the aforementioned ghouls but to stress the fact that we now have a wholly different conception of Cervantes' later years. He seems to have been a man without "honor," and in an age and country in which the point of honor was most rigidly insisted upon. We are no longer permitted to believe the pleasing legend of Cervantes supporting a poverty-stricken family of seamstresses on the meager earnings of his pen. Although they passed through periods of financial stress, Cervantes' sisters and daughter were usually much more comfortably circumstanced than he. He had something far worse than poverty to contend against. With slight authority in a family of which he was himself the most indigent member, Cervantes seems to have been powerless to control the conduct of his wayward sisters and daughter. If in compliance with the savage honor code of his day he had ruthlessly murdered Isabel de Saavedra or at least crossed swords with her venerable benefactor, Juan de Urbina, he might have risen in public estimation. The age admired the Othellos and had scant sympathy for even a Desdemona. It is to Cervantes' credit that he preferred to practice the Christian forgiveness of his own *Celoso Estremeño*. He was not a Calderonian gallant, but very much of a bourgeois. Brave as a soldier, he was weak and indulgent with his womankind. We can now more easily understand why in his latter years he was something of a *déclassé*, why the Conde de Lemos did not care to take

him to Naples in his suite, why in the Ezpeleta trial his family was so persistently persecuted when there was no real evidence against them, why he never achieved high preferment in the public service, why in writing *El celoso extremeño* he elaborated an honor code so at variance with that of his time. There may have been other reasons too, and doubtless there were; but nothing in the seventeenth century could have counted more heavily against a soldier like Cervantes than to be thought careless of the point of honor.

There still remain many baffling points in the life of Cervantes. There are still blank spaces to be filled in. The future may bring surprises. But Fitzmaurice-Kelly has neglected no authentic source of information now available. The limitations of the present volume are those of historical science itself. Few men would care to have their biographies based so largely upon documents revealing their legal and financial transactions. The darker side of Cervantes' life is that of which we have the most complete record. The resultant picture cannot but be slightly distorted. We like to think that those years when he had no legal history were happy years and measurably prosperous. But it is a matter of congratulation that Cervantes' character has met this severe test in so satisfactory a manner. The few very venial faults which have been discovered in it will readily be pardoned. Cervantes continues to be one of the most lovable characters in the history of literature.

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Graded French Method, by WILLIAM F. GIESE.
New York, Holt, 1913. x + 438 pp.

It is hard to compose a grammar for beginners under any circumstances. But when, in addition to the exposition of grammatical facts, there is set the condition that from the very outset the student shall acquire a feeling for the language by reading many pages of a foreign text attractive both in style and sub-